

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 GENEVA 7301

EXDIS/USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: MR. KLOSSON'S STATEMENTS OF AUGUST 25, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1370)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY MR. KLOSSON AT
THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 25, 1977:

STATEMENT BY MR. KLOSSON
AUGUST 25, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I

IN GENEVA IN MAY, SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE AND FOREIGN
MINISTER GROMYKO AGREED ON A THREE-PART FRAMEWORK FOR THE
AGREEMENT CURRENTLY BEING NEGOTIATED: THE AGREEMENT ITSELF;
A PROTOCOL WHOSE DURATION WOULD BE SHORTER THAN THAT OF THE
AGREEMENT; AND A JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES FOR USE AS
GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS. TODAY I WOULD LIKE
TO SET FORTH THE PRINCIPLES WHICH IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED
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STATES WOULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A SUBSEQUENT AGREEMENT
ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS.

II

IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT, THE SIDES DE-

CLARE THEIR INTENTION TO UNDERTAKE IN THE NEAR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS FURTHER TO LIMIT AND TO REDUCE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IN ARTICLE XV, THE SIDES FURTHER AGREE TO UNDERTAKEN, AFTER THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT BEING NEGOTIATED, ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AGREEMENT ON FURTHER MEASURES FOR THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SHOULD RECORD A MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO ASSURE EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, ENHANCE STRATEGIC STABILITY, AND MAINTAIN AND ENHANCE THE SURVIVABILITY OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE UNITED STATES FURTHER BELIEVES THAT THESE PRINCIPLES SHOULD POINT THE WAY TOWARD AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND ON MEASURES DESIGNED TO RESTRAIN THOSE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARMAMENTS OF BOTH SIDES WHICH COULD THREATEN EVENTUALLY TO UNDERMINE STRATEGIC STABILITY. FINALLY, THE PRINCIPLES SHOULD AFFIRM THE NECESSITY OF ADEQUATE VERIFICATION.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE JOINT STATEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE CERTAIN MORE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES TO PROVIDE THE TWO DELGATIONS WITH A SET OF GUIDELINES TO FOLLOW IN THE COURSE OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

III

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ACCORDINGLY, MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT BE ADOPTED AS THE THIRD ELEMENT OF THE THREE-PART FRAMEWORK:

JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,

HAVING CONCLUDED AN AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS,

REAFFIRMING THE IMPORTANCE OF STRATEGIC STABILITY,

CONVINCED THAT EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND FURTHER REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD REDUCE THE DANGER OF AN OUTBREAK OF NUCLEAR WAR AND STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

I

THEY SHALL CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND FURTHER REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOLLOWING GENERAL PRINCIPLES:

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1. EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY SHALL BE ASSURED;
2. STRATEGIC STABILITY SHALL BE ENHANCED;
3. SURVIVABILITY OF PERMITTED STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
SHALL BE MAINTAINED AND ENHANCED;
4. FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN THE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS SHALL BE CARRIED OUT;
5. FURTHER CONSTRAINTS ON THE QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS
OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SHALL BE ESTABLISHED;
6. LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SHALL BE
SUBJECT TO ADEQUATE VERIFICATION.

II

GUIDED BY THESE GENERAL PRINCIPLES, THEY SHALL SEEK IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES:

TIVES:

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1. REDUCTIONS IN THE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO LEVELS NOT TO EXCEED AN AGREED AGGREGATE NUMBER IN THE RANGE FROM 1,800 TO 2,000, AND AN AGREED AGGREGATE NUMBER IN THE RANGE FROM 1,000 TO 1,100 FOR LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS;
2. A SUBLIMIT ON THE NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS;
3. A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS OF HEAVY ICBMS;
4. RESTRICTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW ICBMS, AND ON MODIFICATIONS TO EXISTING ICBMS;
5. RESTRICTIONS ON THE NUMBER OF FLIGHT TESTS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS;
6. FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON STRATEGIC DEFENSES, INCLUDING AIR DEFENSES AND CIVIL DEFENSES;
7. PROVISIONS TO STRENGTHEN VERIFICATION, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE COOPERATIVE MEASURES;
8. OTHER PROVISIONS TO ENHANCE STABILITY, TO ENSURE EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, AND TO IMPLEMENT THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES.

IV

THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WOULD BE INITIAED OR SIGNED ON THE DATE OF SECRET

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SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT AND PROTOCOL CURRENTLY BEING NEGOTIATED.

V

MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION LOOKS FORWARD TO AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF PRINCIPLES

FOR A SUBSEQUENT AGREEMENT ON THE FURTHER LIMITATION AND
REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 GENEVA 7301

EXDIS/USSALTTWO

STATEMENT BY MR. KLOSSON
AUGUST 25, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I

TODAY I WILL PROPOSE PROVISION TO BE INCLUDED IN THE
AGREEMENT LASTING THROUGH 1985 FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF
ALL ICBM FLIGHT TESTS.

II

IN ITS STATEMENT OF AUGUST 16, THE SOVIET DELEGATION
MADE CERTAIN PROPOSALS, TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROTOCOL, FOR
ADVANCE NOTIFICATION IN INDIVIDUAL CASES WHERE MISSILE
LAUNCHES BY ONE SIDE MIGHT BE MISINTERPRETED AND GIVE RISE
TO CONCERN ON THE OTHER SIDE. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE
SOVIET DESIRE TO AVOID SITUATIONS WHERE SUCH MISINTERPRETA-
TIONS COULD OCCUR.

SINCE THE TWO SIDES APPEAR TO SHARE A COMMON VIEW ON THE
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PRINCIPLE OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MISSILE FLIGHT TESTS, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE TWO SIDES SHOULD UNDERTAKE MORE INCLUSIVE MEASURES THAN THOSE PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION.

FIRST, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE SITUATIONS WE ARE TRYING TO AVOID ARE OF CONTINUING CONCERN. THEY ARE NOT CONFINED SIMPLY TO THE PERIOD OF THE PROTOCOL. ACCORDINGLY, THE APPROPRIATE COURSE IS TO ESTABLISH PROVISIONS FOR SUCH NOTIFICATION ON A LONG-TERM RATHER THAN ON A TEMPORARY BASIS. THUS IT IS THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE PROVISIONS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGREEMENT LASTING THROUGH 1985.

SECOND, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT PROVISIONS FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION SHOULD APPLY TO THOSE MISSILE TEST LAUNCHES WHICH ARE MOST LIKELY TO BE MISINTERPRETED. BECAUSE OF THEIR CHARACTERISTICS, ICBMS LAUNCHED FROM ANY LOCATION BY ONE SIDE COULD BE PERCEIVED AS A POTENTIAL THREAT BY THE OTHER SIDE AND THUS GIVE RISE TO UNCERTAINTY. ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF ALL ICBM FLIGHT TESTS, THEREFORE, WOULD AID SUBSTANTIALLY IN AVOIDING MISINTERPRETATIONS.

FINALLY, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT ADVANCE NOTIFICATION GIVEN ONLY IN INDIVIDUAL CASES AND AT THE DISCRETION OF THE SIDE CONDUCTING THE FLIGHT TEST WOULD NOT BE A STEP FORWARD. MISUNDERSTANDINGS, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, OCCUR PRECISELY BECAUSE ONE SIDE DOES NOT CORRECTLY ANTICIPATE HOW ITS ACTIONS WILL BE PERCEIVED BY THE OTHER SIDE. FOR THIS REASON, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THERE SHOULD BE PROCEDURES FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF ALL ICBM FLIGHT TESTS. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE TIMING AND NATURE OF SUCH NOTIFICATION SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

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III

ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS BE INCORPORATED AS AN ARTICLE IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT:

ARTICLE -----

1. EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES, BEFORE CONDUCTING EACH ICBM FLIGHT TEST, TO NOTIFY THE OTHER PARTY THAT SUCH A TEST WILL OCCUR.

2. THE PARTIES WILL AGREE IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE
COMMISSION UPON PROCEDURES TO IMPLEMENT THE PROVI-
SIONS OF THIS ARTICLE.

IV

MR. MINISTER, I LOOK FORWARD TO THE RESPONSE OF THE
SOVIET DELEGATION TO THIS PROPOSAL.KLOSSON

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